face from bringing something off, money is paid in advance, rush tactics are employed to prevent the man returning from abroad from marrying the sweetheart of his college days, and in some cases even magic is resorted to, though in secret. This black magic, especially, involves some very undignified actions. A younger cousin of mine once warned his mother: "Please, Mother, never try to sell me like a bullock, or worse still to arrange a marriage for my sister. I will not help you to jump thrice on eggshells or throw ten viss of fish into a well at dead of night under instructions from a soothsayer."

Although marriages were constantly being arranged among our circle of friends in Thaton, I was not allowed to attend weddings as a young unmarried girl. What we did attend regularly with the grown-ups were the *u-bok-nay*, the duty day gatherings every week in the resthouses among the hills. On these days Buddhists who choose to observe the day, obey eight or ten precepts instead of five. Amongst these ten are the abstaining from food after mid-day, absence of ornament and cosmetics in dress, meditation and prayer, and absence of a high couch in sleep. In Thaton the observance of this day was made the weekly social event with the same combination of material enjoyment and religious piety that characterizes all Burmese functions as described previously. Each family went to the hills early in the morning with mats, betel boxes and a well-cooked meal. The girls wore all the jewellery they had because we had not yet taken the precepts, and this was a good chance of showing that a family did not lack wealth. We met in the resthouses, to one of which a monk came to intone the precepts. These we repeated in chorus after him; then the elders talked and chewed betel, and at about 10-30 the whole party went to bathe in the pools made by the waterfalls down the hills. We went back to find the pooled dishes of four or five families laid out in a rich feast. We stuffed ourselves with this. The law states that food should not be eaten after noon, and the law was always obeyed in the letter if not in the spirit.

One maiden lady in Rangoon who kept duty days regularly ate till as near noon as she possibly could. She usually finished her meal with fruit, and if she was eating a banana when noon struck with a loud bang from the cannon at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, "Haw!" she would exclaim, and in would go the whole length of the banana into her mouth. After noon, tea and coffee are not allowed either but aerated waters, which look so much like water, are sanctioned. When my husband was a novice monk in the monastery, they were allowed medicinal products also after noon, and the hungry young novices often made a delicious soup of garlic (a digestive) fried in butter (medicinal component), and water poured on to the fragrant compound.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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indeed in any monastery at all, even in Mandalay, it would be promptly put a stop to. But where the monks themselves show the example of carnal weakness, the probationers cannot be expected to maintain the old austerity.

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The shin is subject in every way to the discipline of the monastery, but there are very few additional rules really incumbent on him. He has to observe always the Sè-ba Thila, the ten commandments. Five of these are obligatory on all Buddhists at all times: the other five are supposed to be incumbent upon laymen only on sacred days and during Lent. The five universal commandments are:—

1. Thou shalt not take any life at all.
2. Thou shalt not steal.
3. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
4. Thou shalt not lie.
5. Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquor.

The additional five are:

6. Thou shalt not eat after mid-day.
7. Thou shalt not sing, dance, or play on any musical instrument.
8. Thou shalt not use cosmetics, or colour the face.
9. Thou shalt not sit, stand, or sleep on platforms or elevated places not proper for thee.
10. Thou shalt not touch gold or silver.

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These latter five are, it has been said, imposed upon laymen on sacred days, but the burden is very light, the people observing them or not, accordingly as they are observing the "duty-day." If they are not "keeping the feast," they conduct themselves precisely as they would on any other day, and buy and sell and attend pwès in their ordinary fashion.

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This laxity is, of course, not open to the shins, but it cannot be said that the regulations, except perhaps as to eating, are very irksome. The seventh and eighth commandments seem by themselves peculiar, but they refer to filthy habits more explicitly set forth in the Patimauk, or book of the enfranchisement, containing the 227 sins which

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Brahmin priests were originally brought captives from Manipur, and have been employed as astrologers ever since, their ranks being occasionally recruited by new arrivals. One of the requests preferred to Colonel Symes on his embassy to Ava in 1796 was that he would persuade the Governor-General to send a learned Brahmin and his wife to the capital. The race has been maintained tolerably pure, and the Pônna is readily distinguishable in the streets from the pôngyi. The astrologers muster naturally in greatest force in Mandalay, and their monastery there is situated in a magnificent grove of trees south of the town, and close to the cemeteries. Unlike the native religious, they do not raise their houses on posts above the ground, but follow the Indian custom of having the mat-covered earth for their floor. Foreigners are not admitted into their temples, but there is no objection to the images being brought out by a Pônna for exhibition to his friends. They worship Krishna and twenty-five other deities, but have all but no congregation, few of their faith coming to Mandalay, and those laymen who were carried away at the same time as themselves into captivity having turned to the Buddhist faith.

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No yahan is allowed to have a separate monastery built for him until he has spent five full Wā under the discipline of a prior. These Lents must also be consecutive. According to their seniority in this respect the monks obtain names. Thus a pyin-sin who has spent five years—which of course is implied by the Wā—is called Anuti, and is a fit object for the pious to honour by erecting a special kyaung for him. When he has been ten years in the order he is addressed as Myizza-ti, and those who have remained steadfastly for twenty years, attain to the full honour of Mahā-ti. Such a self-denying man is always sure of a magnificent funeral when he dies.

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It is a very good point about the life in the monastery that the great austerities and absurd mortifications of the flesh indulged in by the Brahminical houses find no place with the Buddhists, who reject them as unnecessary and unprofitable. The life of the initiated is one of constant self-denial; all superfluities and luxuries are renounced; all that is calculated to excite the passions is forbidden; but there

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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785 792 are no revolting self-inflicted penances such as are regarded as meritorious in themselves by the followers of the Hindu creed. Fasts and penitential deeds are indeed recommended to those living in the world, but that is because such methods are the best means for weakening the passions, and increasing the power of the spirit as against the flesh. They are not a part of perfection. They are not even on the direct way to the attainment of perfection. That is only to be achieved by meditation, by pondering on the various aspects of the substances and truths in the world. Therefore the pyin-sin do not make any difference, except in the case of the very austere, in the observance of the appointed duty days, during which it is incumbent on the laity to abstain from food up till mid-day. After noontide the yahan never eats. Considerable scandal is sometimes caused by the tricks of sundry of the weaker vessels. They sit all day with their back to the sun, and if in the afternoon they feel hungry, they ask a scholar if it is yet noon. The wily kyaung-tha, thinking to escape a thrashing on the morrow, promptly answers that it is a good way off twelve o'clock yet, and brings wherewithal to solace the hungry religious. The falsehood, or *suppressio veri*, on the part of the scholar is a venial offence at his age, and the yahan escapes sin, for if he breaks the law it is 805 because he was deceived. Again, Englishmen are often puzzled to know, in a country where, even now, clocks are by no means common, and where they are found, usually show the wrong time, how it is that the people know what o'clock it is. The matter is simple enough when the sun is to be seen, for its course is pretty nearly the same all the year round, and the Burman is tolerably skilled in guessing the time from its height or from the length of the shadows thrown. But it is different during the rainy season, when the sun is often not to be seen for weeks at a time. Here, however, so say the yahans, whom it most seriously concerns, a singular dispensation of nature steps in to their aid. The cocks and hens of Buddhist countries are not as the tame villatic fowl of Western lands. I do not refer to their powers of flying, which are sufficiently irritating to hungry life-taking voyagers, but to the fact that the cocks crow at stated hours, four times a day—at sunrise, noon, sundown, and midnight.

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actual earthly existence. Occasionally an energetic Sadaw excommunicates all the Paramats under his jurisdiction, and forbids all the laity to sell to them, or have any communication whatever with them, but as a rule they are let alone. The movement is too feeble to threaten any real danger to religion, and has never gained many adherents among the laity.

It is a different matter with the rival parties of the Mahagandi and the Sulagandi. Here there are no heretical doctrines in dispute; it is simply a question of greater adherence to the strict rule of the Order. Instead of, as in the early days of the Assembly, one party crying out against the too great austerity of the majority, it is a sturdy protest of a minority within the Church against the lamentable weakness and laxity of the great body of the Order in the observance of the precepts of the Book of the Enfranchisement. The quarrel is at present limited to Lower Burma, where the greater wealth of the country and the introduction of foreign luxuries among the laity have led to corresponding indulgences in many of the monasteries, against which the Sulagandis protest and preach with feverish energy. The austere party is strongest in Maulmein, Henzada, and Pegu, and faction feeling runs so high that street fights between the scholars of the two sects are very common, and often so embittered that the English authorities have to interfere to restore peace in the town, for the laity take sides with equally bitter animosity.

The questions in dispute are entirely matters of discipline. The Puritan party, as the Sulagandi may very well be called, denounce the habit, which is becoming very frequent, of wearing silk robes. The Kammawā sets forth that the thengan should be stitched together of rags picked up in the streets or in the graveyards, and such panthagu thengans the Sulagandis wear and glory in. The Mahagandis, on the other hand, have been gradually becoming more and more luxurious. At first new cloth was torn into irregular pieces, and then sewn together. Latterly it has been considered sufficient to tear a corner and stitch it up again, or perhaps only to rip a portion of a seam, and from this to the wearing of silk garments was no very great step.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 APl Burma
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The Puritan party declare that this is simply a scandalous playing with the letter of the law. Again, the Sulagandis eat out of the alms-bowl as it comes in from the morning round, whereas the Mahagandis empty out the thabeit into plates and make as palatable a meal as possible from their collections, which, on the face of it, is a pandering to fleshly weakness. Others, much more bold in their backsliding, do not hesitate to have a special meal cooked for them every morning by the Kyaung-tha-gyi, and sit down to it smoking hot, after their morning's perambulation, while the begging-bowl is handed over to poor people staying in the monastery, or emptied out for the benefit of the dogs and crows. No sophistry, one would think, could explain away this Sybaritism, but the Mahagandis have the assurance to try to make a merit of it, saying that the money expended by the Kappiya-dayaka on the materials for the breakfast is the proceeds of the sale of previous offerings of the pious—rugs, blankets, lamps, and so on—and by thus making use of it, not only do the people gain merit for their gifts of food, but the monks themselves are enabled to extend their charity to the poor or the birds of the air. That is a severe straining of the command that the Ariya should live by alms.

Similarly when the Mahagandi goes abroad he wears sandals on his feet, and protects his shaven crown from the rays of the sun with an umbrella. The austere brother walks the streets barefooted and bareheaded; even though his head may ache and his feet be blistered with the shimmering heat of high noon. Only when he is on a long journey does the Sulagandi allow himself such superfluities as sandals or umbrella. The Mahagandi will receive coin in his own hands, covered by a handkerchief; the Sulagandi will not take it even through the instrumentality of a pupil, or off a ngwe-pa-detha, a rupee-hung tree, at Tawadeintha feast time. Pwès on feast days, or even in the neighbourhood of the pagodas, are denounced by the reforming party; so are balloons with fireworks in them; the habit many monks have fallen into of going to visit Englishmen, with no other object than curiosity; and above all the noisy saturnalia in the monasteries at the end of Lent which

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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have become so common in Rangoon. It will thus be seen that the great point at issue is the maintenance of the original humble character of the brotherhood. The different vernacular presses of Rangoon flood the country with controversial tracts written by both parties, and the laity adopt sides and carry polemical discussions into private life. So fierce had the quarrel become, that in 1880 one of the most learned and venerated of the Mandalay heads of the Church, the Thinkazā Sadaw, came down to settle the question. He was received everywhere with extraordinary honours. At Danubyu the whole of the populace lined the path up to the monastery prepared for him, and kneeling down, threw their hair across the way, so that from the river-bank to the steps of the kyaung he walked all the way on a carpet of human tresses. But he did not settle which party was in the right. After making abundant inquiries and hearing the most prominent advocates on either side, he halted at Henzada and announced that he was about to give his decision. Unfortunately it came to his ears that in that town, as well as in several others, the Ariya had been betting freely as to which way he would give his judgment. Thereupon the Sadaw grew furious, denounced both parties alike, and refused to say anything which would countenance the claims of either sect. He remained for a considerable time in the low country, giving numerous addresses for the building up of religion, but never on any occasion throwing out a hint as to which way he leaned, further than that both parties should give way a little and refrain from exhibiting such scandalous dissensions before the heretics. The warfare was calmed for a space, but the old fierce denunciations have broken out again. The opposing abbots bid their lay supporters refrain from giving alms to the rival sect. They recommend all the penalties of excommunication without having the power to go through the formal ceremony. But though the Mahagandis have the greater number of followers, the self-denying Sulagandis have all the more earnest and rightly-thinking men on their side and will probably prevail in the end, though a new great synod may have to be held before that is effected. The head of the reforming party is U Ôkgansa, a learned Sadaw, whose monastery is at Ôkpo

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
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in the Tharrawadi district. He was at one time invited to go up to Mandalay to assume the control of a Kyaung and spend the rest of his days there. The Burmese Government offered to send down a royal steamer with high dignitaries to escort him to the capital, but the sturdy old "Bishop" refused to forsake his party until he should be persuaded that its principles would gain the victory in the end. And so no doubt they will, for not even the most casual observer can fail to see that they, in their bare ascetic monasteries, are far nearer to the ideal of the founder than the Mahagandis with all the appliances of their richly-stocked abiding-places.

to worship. These are the eighth day of the waxing of the moon, full moon day, the eighth day of the waning moon, and a day during the transition to the new moon. The second and fourth of these are considered especially sacred. On these duty days all work in the village ceases and the public school is closed. The people go, usually in family groups, to the monastery. There they say prayers before the images of the Buddha and present gifts to the monks. For a good many, a large portion of the day, after the visit to the monastery, is passed in social visiting and in generally relaxing. For the more devout, usually the elderly people, the duty days are more serious; they abstain from food and drink after midday until the following sunrise, spending the day in silent meditation and prayer. 796 [887]

Ceremonies

Thingyan, the New Year. Throughout the year a number of the Burmese religious festivals are celebrated in Tadagale. We may begin with the New Year festival, which occurs in April, beginning on or about April 13th, according to the determination made by astrologers.

Traditionally, the New Year festival calls for visiting the pagodas and monasteries and washing the images of the Buddha, after which one calls upon his elders and sprinkles them gently with scented water from a silver bowl. The young men of the village go from house to house, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of an orchestra. At each house they sprinkle water on the elders and ask them to call out the young girls. The girls are likewise sprinkled with water by means of a flower carried in the bowls.

In Tadagale today, many of the traditional customs of the New Year are still observed. Preparatory to the holiday, houses are swept and compounds cleared of all refuse. Everything is made clean and orderly. The images of the Buddha are washed, elders are called upon, sprinkled with water, and wished well. But, as in many parts of the country, the New Year festival has tended to take on a rather secularised character in modern times. Water sprinkling has become water throwing; groups of people, especially youngsters, go into the towns in carts or trucks, armed with buckets of water which they throw at passers-by. The name 'Water Festival' which has been given to the New Year celebration is singularly appropriate, since water-throwing and associated hilarity has overshadowed the sacred significance of the occasion. Some villagers go into Rangoon for the celebration, where everyone engages in dousing everyone he encounters (monks excepted), utilising every means from buckets to large hoses attached to city water hydrants. These activities are in contrast with the traditionally serious, sacred character of the New Year as conceived by older villagers. The schoolmaster of the community, a middle-aged man with many years of religious training, spoke of the New Year: 796 178 527

> Thingyan is the New Year festival, but the villagers do not know the significance of the festival. They know only that it is a feast day and a holiday and a day for having fun. In reality there should be no frivolity on New Year's day; it is a day on which one should fast and pray, for one is now one year older and therefore nearer death. One should meditate on the futility of frivolity as compared with the blessedness of deeds of merit.

Waso, the Buddhist Lent. In July, on the full moon day of the month of Waso, there begins a sacred period of some three months, corresponding closely 796 785.

796 with the rainy season. The Buddhist monks take vows to live strictly by the Buddhist precepts and not to spend a single night away from the monastery during
● 785 this time. The laity pledge to observe the fast from noon of the weekly duty day to the following dawn, an observance that at other times of the year is carried out by few people. Marriage must not take place during this sacred period; engagement contracted before the beginning of Waso should be consummated in marriage before the period begins, not carried over to its close.

On the full moon day that inaugurates this sacred period, the villagers make gifts of robes to the monks. Households sometimes pool money in a common fund from which the robes are purchased. The robes may be sent to the monastery or the monks may be invited to a donor's house to be fed and presented with the garb.

On the following day, the young people of the village go out in small groups to pick the 'Waso flower,' the flower of the Padauk tree (Pterocarpus sp.). In the evening, dressed in their finest clothes, they offer these flowers to the image of the Buddha that stands to one side of the main path of the village, about halfway between the northern and southern ends of Tadagale. Some travel to Rangoon to make their flower offering at the Shwe Dagon pagoda, the most famous of Buddhist shrines in Burma.

796 Thadingyut, the Festival of Lights. For three months, from the first day after the full moon of the month of Waso, until the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut (October) it is believed that the Lord Buddha is in the land of the spirits preaching to his mother. On the first day after the full moon of Thadingyut he is said to return to the world of human beings. For this occasion, lanterns are lit and houses are gaily decorated with them. The lanterns are made of colored paper, shaped into small cylinders and placed around a saucer in which there is a kerosene-soaked wick. Villagers nowadays purchase these lanterns ready-made in the bazaars of Rangoon and use candles rather than wicks in them. All over Rangoon, and along the road between Tadagale and the city, colored lanterns are lit and hung around the houses, fences and hedges, providing a bright and glittering spectacle. Many villagers go to Rangoon to see the lights at this time.

796 Kahtein, a Ceremony of Offerings to Monks. Between the day following the full moon of Thadingyut and the day after the full moon of Tassungmon (November)
735 the villagers observe Kahtein. On this occasion of giving gifts to the monks, the offerings are on a larger scale than those of individual households at other times of the year.

The village headman collects money from each house in the village for this observance. A total of about Rs. 1000 (ca. $200) is gathered to purchase gifts for each of the four monasteries located near the community. The presentation ceremonies for the various monasteries are held on different days, and many villagers attend all of them.

The purchasing of the gifts for the monks is entrusted to the headman. This is done in Rangoon and includes robes, food-carriers, utensils, crockery, brooms, and fans.

The ceremony takes place at the monastery. Each family cooks a meal of rice, curry and a sweet dish. All the food is pooled, and after the monks have partaken of their morning meal, the villagers eat. Music, dancing and singing

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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months depends all their maintenance for the rest of the year. Every man, every woman, every child, has hard work of some kind or another.

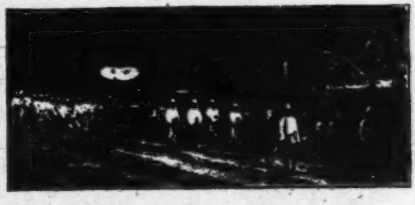
And so, what with the difficulties of travelling, what with the work there is to do, and what with the custom of Lent, everyone stays at home. It is the time for prayer, for fasting, for improving the soul. Many men during these months will live even as the monks live, will eat but before mid-day, will abstain from tobacco. There are no plays during Lent, and there are no marriages. It is the time for preparing the land for the crop; it is the time for preparing the soul for eternity. The congregations on the Sundays will be far greater at this time than at any other; there will be more thought of the serious things of life.

It is a very long Lent—three months; but with the full moon of October comes the end. The rains then are over; the great black bank of clouds that walled up all the south so long is gone. The south wind has died away, and the light, fresh north wind is coming down the river. The roads are drying up, the work in the fields is over for a time, awaiting the ripening of the grain. The damp has gone out of the air, and it is very clear. You can see once more the purple mountains that you have missed so long; there is a new feeling in the wind, a laughter in the sunshine, a flush of blossom along the fields like the awakening of a new joy. The rains are over and the cool weather is coming; Lent is over and gladness is returned; the crop has been sown, and soon will come the reaping. And so at this full moon of October is the great feast of the

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

31. SHINLAUNG ARRAYED FOR HIS FETE.

the home of the Buddha. In order to accentuate the renunciation of the world which the lad is making, he is arrayed and attended like a prince and makes a royal progress on horseback or in a chariot to the monastery. Attendants bear gilt umbrellas over him, and a retinue of relatives and friends carry his *parĕikaya* and offerings for the use of the monastery. The *parĕikaya* are the eight chattels, to the possession of which the regular recluse (*yahán*) is restricted. They consist of the *thingán* or monastic yellow robes, *viz.*, the loin-cloth (*thimbáing*), upper cloth (*egasi*), wrapper (*thingán-dyí*), and red girdle (*kabán*); a needle (*at*), wherewith to piece his clothing together, a hard-baked black earthen pot (*thabĕit*) in which to collect the morning dole of food, a filter (*yezit*) to strain the drinking water clear of living things, and a razor (*thindôn-dá*) to shave the head and face (excepting the eyebrows). The garments are of plain cloth, without any cut, but torn into strips and joined up again (by the donors) in commemoration of the primitive rule of piecing the garments together from rags, as well as to deprive the cloth of value. The cloth is mostly cotton, but silk and wool are also offered. The stuffs are dyed a bright ochre, with chips of Jack-wood. By repeated washings the colour deepens to tan. These varying shades produce a picturesque effect. The recluse customarily also receives sandals to wear, a deer-skin to sit and sleep upon, a broom to sweep his dwelling with, and a large palm-leaf fan, both for a shelter from the sun and a screen from the sight of womankind. The *thabĕit* is slung in a yellow cotton net, and has a lacquerwork stand and cover. In respect of chattels, however, these primitive tokens of privation have sunk to a form. The recluses have many changes of raiment and the use of spacious dwellings



32. SHINLAUNG PAGEANT (BURMA PROPER).

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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41. YAHAN ON THE ROUND FOR ALMS.

towards the higher spiritual condition of *Ayahát* and *Ayáttapò*. The primitive appellation is *Beikku* (Pâli *Bikku*), one dependent on alms. The spiritual state preceding *Yahán*, that of the man so imbued with the spirit of the Buddha's teaching as to desire membership of his Assembly, is called *Thawtapan*. The candidate for full membership must possess the qualifications for the degree of *goyin*, in addition to a knowledge of the rule of life of the *yahán* and a modicum of religious learning. Most *yahán* are *ngò-hyu*—pure from youth—that is, have passed direct from their youthful novitiate to full membership. Men of any condition may be received, and at any age above twenty, if free from debt and other ties, but must undergo a fresh probation. Over and above the precepts observed by the *goyin*, the *yahán* observes one hundred detailed injunctions. He must not merely respect life, but also the means to life. He may not wantonly injure a blade of grass. Cleanliness is particularly enjoined. A notable injunction is not to lay up any store of food. He must not use a raised sleeping-place, though by day he reclines on the couches presented to the monastery. The *yahán* sweeps his dwelling, draws water, washes his clothing, and so forth, when there are not *goyin* or lay-disciples to perform these services for him. Otherwise his occupations are only those of teaching, study, and contemplation. In Lent the *yahán* remains indoors from sunset to sunrise. At this season he also frequently selects a forest retreat for contemplation in the early morning hours (*twessaung*). The *yahán* practises confession to his brethren of the Assembly, all of whom are equals, but who defer to one another, according to seniority, which is reckoned

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42. BUDDHIST RECLUSE.

23: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
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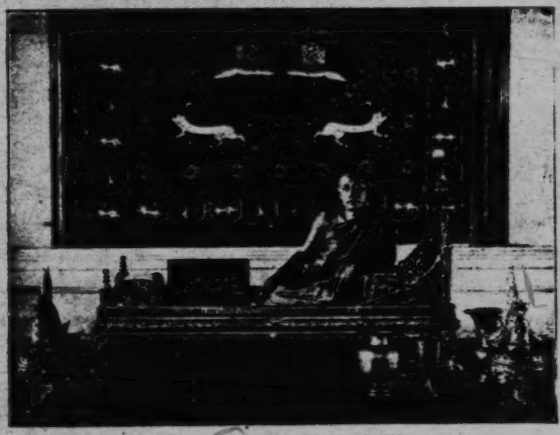
792 779 and doctrine. Such a group is called *gaing*, and its president *gaing-ôk*, his deputy *gaing-dauk*. In the same way a group recognise a *Sadáw—Sayá-daw*, or chief teacher. The whole body again defer to a chief *Sadáw*, usually the



84. YAHAN INSTALLED AS PONDYI.

yahán who has been religious instructor to the King during his novitiate, and who is called *Thátthanabáing*.

792 785 In reaction against the comfort with which the laity endow the monasteries, the *yahán* periodically repair to country retreats for ten or twenty days at a time, either singly or in camps of many, for the sake of cultivating primitive use. Here each *yahán* has a dwelling of the narrowest compass and makes shift with the mere chattels ordained in the canon. But the laity, ever ready to minister to the *yahán*, convert these camps into centres of festivity for the

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85. WUSSAUNG CAMP.

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25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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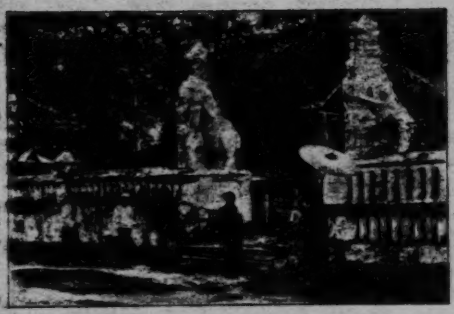

56. YAHAN PASSING THE STREETS.

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whole country-side. The camp is laid out in the rice-fields after harvest, in the form of a square, with a pavilion in the middle for the *yahán* to meet and practise confession (*âbo-pyè*). There are a few *yahán* who do not settle in a *kyaung*, but wander from place to place, in the primitive way, the people providing them with temporary shelter.

The *yahán* make journeys to the seats of learning and the *kyaungs* of their former teachers, and make pilgrimages to shrines. A few travel as far as Ceylon and Buddha Gâya in Bahâr. On such journeys the *yahán* is accompanied by a scholar or attendant deputed by the *kyaungtagá* to carry provisions and money, which the *yahán* may not handle. When not collecting their *sun*, the *yahán* go abroad with attendants and carry umbrellas, or suffer such to be carried over them, and wear sandals. The *yahán* allow themselves to be driven in ox and buffalo carts; but do not drive or mount an animal or avail themselves of horse-draught. They travel by boat, steamer, and rail. Aged *yahán* are carried on a litter (*yin, waw*).

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The *kyaung*, primarily a shelter for the *yahán*, has, in virtue of his occupation, come to be a school. It is at first established on the outskirts of a settlement or at some distance away from it. Secular buildings are not erected within the shadow of a religious building. But the growth of towns brings the houses up to the precincts (*parawún*) of the *kyaung*, which stands within a liberal enclosure, planted with fruit-trees. The *kyaung* as such has no particular style. The superposed roofs and decorated spires (*pyatthat*) of the votive *kyaung* are emblems of secular state, added to confer distinction.

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57. YAHAN ON HIS JOURNEY.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
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88. METHILA ON THE ROUND FOR SUN.

struggles. Apart from this and the serfdom referred to at p. 32, slavery has only played a subordinate *rôle* in Burma within historic times. The *payadyún*, and they alone, are treated as outcasts by both of these populations. They beg for alms and also appropriate the offerings brought to the shrines in profusion at festivals. Their right to beg is admitted, although they frequently accumulate money and build fine houses.

Lepers (*aná*) in many cases quit their families of their own accord and settle in the *payadyún* colony. In some places they were compelled to do so. The settlements have thus acquired the semblance of leper colonies. There are a few country villages of this character. Indigent lepers beg for alms. In 1891 there were 6,000 lepers in Burma, the highest ratio in the Indian Empire. There are now four leper asylums. Casual mendicancy is almost unknown in Burma.

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787 The Burman and Brahman soothsayers (p. 158) are regular frequenters of the shrines. The Burman astrologer (*hedín-sayá*) casts horoscopes on the
803 Brahman model (No. 279) and designates the days auspicious for undertakings. He takes his name from proficiency in reckoning, and is consulted about business calculations that cannot be done mentally.

88. SOOTHSAYER.

796 The Buddhist duty-days (*óbót-ne, thadín*) follow the quarters of the moon.
785 They are kept regularly during lent. On these days the pious laity of both sexes and sedate years observe the rule of *pôthudaw* and *méthila* from sunrise to sunrise (*óbót-saung*). They adopt sober attire, or else white cotton clothing, which is considered the plainest of any. In the forenoon men and women separately repair to the temple rest-houses, whither food for the morning meal, which has been collected the previous evening from religious donors

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90. PAYA SUN-KAN.

(*Payá sun-kan*), or privately prepared, is conveyed. The day is devoted to contemplation, and the night is passed at the *zayát*. Those who keep the duty-day present offerings at the *zedi* and the adjoining *kyaung*. At either of these places a *yahán* is invited to rehearse the precepts, which the laity chant verse by verse after his lead (*thila-kan*). Passages from other scriptures are added, with their interpretations. This is called *Tayá-haw*—the preaching of the Law. The great Mun King, Yazadiyit of Pegu, in the year 1400 A.D., is reported to have been so impressed by the preaching of a *yahán* that he abandoned a campaign on which he had embarked. More than once in Burman history the peaceful contest of building rival temples has been substituted for battle by opposing armies.

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The Buddha has passed out of existence. While existent, all that the Buddha could accomplish for any being was the human service of showing him the way to work out deliverance by individual effort. Self-reliance is the cardinal principle. There is none to hear prayer. The true significance of the popular worship is not apprehended unless this be borne in mind. No virtue can surpass that of the Inestimable Master (*Myasswa Payá*) who fulfilled the Law and bequeathed it to men. To cultivate the memory of his transcendent merit is itself meritorious in the first degree. Such is the personal side of the cult, to which the effigies of the founder appeal. Before the images of the Buddha are performed the gestures of homage, and are placed offerings symbolical of veneration — tapers lighted at the shrine, flowers

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91. YAHAN RECITING THE PRECEPTS (TAYA-HAW).

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every man in a yellow robe is fully ordained, and not every ordained monk is a scholar. There are Brother Junipers who have little more learning than the average farmer. On the other hand, there are laymen who have advanced a considerable way in higher studies and disciplines. The Lēdī Sayādaw's manual on the Exercises, for example, is written for laymen.[42] Thus between the scholar and the simple villager there is a mediating world, composed both of monks and laymen.

Through this mediating world, the moderating influence of scholarly orthodoxy filters down to the realm of popular Buddhism where imagination roves more freely.

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Here, however, we are met by another objection which, if true, cancels the first. There are so few scholars, it is said, so few really learned *monks* that their influence is negligible. The ordinary monk is not scholarly enough. He is just as much swayed by primitive superstitions as the people he instructs or fails to instruct. He is idle, ignorant and often dissolute. The last criticism need not detain us. Nearly every book on Burma debates the character of the monks. Few fail to acknowledge that, in general, the monks live up to their ideal of chastity. Father Sangermano, who was certainly no indulgent critic, even goes further and suggests that in this respect they might serve as an example to the religious of his own Church. He adds that an offender is expelled by indignant villagers, 'even driving him away with stones' — an observation which reminds us that the most vigilant critics of the monks may be the Burmese people themselves.[43] The Burmese name for monk, *pōn-gyi*, means 'great glory.' Since there is no suggestion of priestly or Brahmanical power, since the value of the monks depends on their *kutho* and their *kutho* on their character, it is difficult to believe that they could have retained this title and the esteem in which they are generally held, if they had been as unworthy as some of their harsher critics suggest.[44] As to their knowledge, whilst nobody would claim that every wearer of the yellow robe is a scholar, we have only to glance at such a survey as Bode's *Pali Literature* to realise that there has been a persistent tradition of Pali learning in Burma since the eleventh century which tends to orthodoxy and could not have failed to impress itself, in some degree, on the mind of the people.

[42] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī, or The Manual of Insight*, trans. by U Nyāna (Mandalay: no date).

[43] Op. cit., chaps. XIV, pp. 115–16.

[44] On the character of the monks, cf. *M.B.B.*, pp. 20, 21, 62; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 260, 270 ff.; Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. X, pp. 134 ff.; Nisbet, *Burma under British Rule*, p. 147; Richards, *The Burmese*, p. 34.

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has been fulfilled. What had to be done has been accomplished. After this present life there will be no beyond';[44] he has, indeed, attained the full Vision of Deliverance and can cheer and exhort others along the Path.[45] His condition is summed up as a state of self-possession, investigation into the truth, energy, calm, joy, concentration and magnanimity.[46] And this condition, nothing more and nothing less, this, contends Rhys Davids, is Nibbāna. "It is not too much to say that Arahatship is Buddhism"[47] — a philosophy of life which aimed its keenest shafts at all forms of the supernatural and the mysterious and set before men an ideal of self-conquest, a 'final salvation . . . obtainable in this world and in this world alone.'[48]

Now there is much in the apparent attitude of the Burmese Saṃgha to support Rhys David's interpretation. The devout bhikku certainly seems to hold before him the attainment of the Nibbāna-condition, the qualities of life which signify the Arahat. His conception of Nibbāna is very closely joined with this ideal. His immediate aim is to excel in the discipline which brings the ideal nearer, subduing the passions and employing the mind in those exercises which belong to the Path.

But two questions arise. The first is the question whether he really expects to realise this ideal and obtain this final salvation in this present life. Theoretically, no doubt, it is possible. In a reference to the *Abhiññā*, the supernormal insight which is attained by the Arahat, the Lēdī Sayādaw insists that in the Buddhist Scriptures we find, clearly shown, the means towards attaining the five supernatural faculties. That we do not see any person endowed with these today, "is due to the lack of strenuous physical and mental exertion towards their attainment."[49] A zealous missioner, held in the highest esteem throughout Burma,[50] few have done more in modern times than the Lēdī Sayādaw himself to encourage his compatriots, whether monks or laymen, to seek the Path. Yet it may be questioned whether he ever really expected any of his followers to attain the supernatural faculties in this present life. In another treatise he warns against false confidence.

"It is ... very difficult to become aware of the attainment of the Paths and of the Fruits. In fact even the Ariyan (saint) who has attained

[44] D. 156 (cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 204).

[45] M. i. 146 (cf. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. I, p. 103.)

[46] Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[47] *American Lectures*, chap. IV, p. 151.

[48] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 141 ff.

[49] *Questions on Karma*; cf. comment in *M.B.B.*, p. 46.

[50] Cf. Thirkell-White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (1913), chap. XI., p. 197.

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792 the First Path hardly knows that he has become an attainer of the Path-
775* of-the-Stream. Why? Because of the unfathomableness of the latent
779* period of the Defilements. Those Yogis or meditators who do not know the unfathomableness of the latent period of the Defilements, sometimes think themselves to be attainers of Path-of-the-Stream, while as yet their erroneous views and perplexity are only partially, but not completely, put away...."

While, therefore, he enjoins that the exercises which lead to insight and sanctity must be steadfastly practised 'for the whole time of life' he does not promise that the goal will be attained before death.

"If meditators practise these exercises for the whole term of life, their knowledge will be developed till they pass beyond the Puthujjana-bhūmi (the state of the ordinary, unenlightened man) and arrive at the Ariya-bhūmi either before death or at the time of death, *either in this life or the life following*, in which latter they will be reborn as Devas."[81]

• [985] Vainglory is forbidden the Buddhist monk. He must not claim for himself any superior sanctity or perfection, and there is certainly no record in modern times of any bhikku claiming Arahatship. Nor does he seem to expect the 'full Vision of Deliverance' in this present life. At best it will come in the life following. If Nibbāna is not for him quite such a distant view as it is for the layman, it is, nevertheless, no immediate prospect. And for the same fundamental, ethical reason. He is not worthy. But rebirth will give him another chance, a further opportunity: the partial progress he has made in this present life is not in vain. We may compare him with the Christian who hopes for heaven, but not at death; some further, intermediate, purgatorial stage, he conceives, must come in between.

The question arises whether this deliverance is conceived in terms of death or in terms of future, fuller life. Nibbāna clearly means extinction — extinction, certainly, of those cravings and false allurements which chain man to his present fevered existence. Until the Defilements are underfoot there is no prospect of any *ariyabhūmi*. Every bhikku believes that. No man is emancipated until base passions and befooling hallucinations are conquered. But what then? Is the Nibbāna condition but the brief enjoyment of this experience of emancipation until death terminates the short spell of life in which the emancipation is attained? Is it, as some have said, merely the conquest of the fear of death and the lust of immortality, a conquest achieved in this Nibbāna-condition? Or is it the conquest of death itself, the extinction of death together with existence, introducing a new quality of Life beyond destructive change as

[81] *The Vipassanā Dīpanī*, pp. 69, 70. italics mine.